/47 cont./

539 773

3. Naandjo taua ammantangi ri birinna agang lompoa.
This man lived along the large road.

4. Naandjo aganga, punna nia' tau ammalo na'bongong iareka nammake pajung, andjo taua balalo mate karampasang.
Now, whenever there were people who came along the way with their sarong over their head or with a pajong /parasol/, these people soon died (1).

554 576 689

1. A lower person who appears before a higher one with a sarong over his head or with a pajong, or who simply walks past his house, in so doing shows little respect for him. He can always expect punishment.

5. Nasiapa are sallona andjo taua appakamma naniareng tommo tau tabesse-besse panggaukanna;
And thereupon this man who had that on his conscience was called an evil man in place of a courageous one.

6. Sanggenna andjo taua appasang angkana:
Finally, the following statement was issued to this man:

7. Punna salllang tenama' anrinni (sajanga') punna eroko assarea', nia' antu batu ritangngana pa'rasanganga, andjoremmako sarea';
If in future I will no longer be here (if I will have risen up to heaven) and if you want to give me something, there is a stone there, situated in the middle of the land, there you must then give that to me.

521 /146/ The women eat and converse much less formally.
562 They sit around a bowl in a small group and talk all at the
571 same time about topics which they would also discuss at an
576 ordinary meeting. Their manners seem less forced.

Forms of Social Intercourse Between the Sexes

571 The forms of social intercourse between men and women
673 are tied to many restrictions. These can best be summarized
834 by saying that every contact between them is prohibited. Contact not only refers to physical touching, but even to a word exchanged between them. Being together in the same room or even an accidental encounter without the presence of a third person may be interpreted as contact. The intention of the individuals concerned is irrelevant in such instances. Society merely looks at the outward situation; if it implies contact, people act as though a forbidden contact actually existed.

These strict rules do not apply to children and older
[561 people (1), but they apply most strictly to unmarried girls
858]

1. To be specific: individuals of under ten to twelve years and above thirty-five to forty years of age.

and young men. The strength of these rules decreases only a great number of years after marriage has been contracted. Only then can individuals afford to gradually break existing rules without exposing themselves to the sanction imposed by such a transgression.

This sanction consists of a stab with the badik /a small
[687 dagger/, which frequently results in death.

689 /146 cont./ Violating existing rules in this respect
184 is regarded as a challenge. Among men, one challenge is
558 frequently answered by another. But if the challenge in-
834 volves an attack upon the standing of a woman, the reaction must be stabbing or at least an attempt to stab.

It is clear that by speaking ill, possibly just by making
521 a suggestion, the impression can be created that a certain
626 woman and a certain man were in a contact situation.
834 Children learn at an early age that this is disapproved. People say, "It is bad if you are referred to as a 'word former'" (2). "Word former" /147/ applies to a person who

2. In Makassarese:
Kodi punna naparupaiki
bitjara.

tells malicious tales.

Young women and men often evade each other
571 consciously. Both are afraid (malla') of putting the other
626 into such a contact situation, because they are well aware
834 of the serious consequences. If the master of the house is momentarily called outside, and his guest, who had been inside for awhile, were to notice that aside from him and the host's wife or daughter there was nobody else in the house, he would also go outside while mumbling some excuse. In so doing, he shows that he wants to avoid giving people even this opportunity to talk about them.

Under changing conditions, the idea that contact with
177 a man produces dangers for a young woman is assuming
834 new forms. At a visit to the movies, the accompanying parents take care that they are seated on each side with the girls between them. At the construction of a new swimming pool, the adat community head, as a matter of course, had the dressing rooms of men and women built separately. When Makassarese women make a visit to a

554 571 177 /212 cont./ The idea that the person whose social standing is attacked must react, because whoever does not react is low in standing, has led at present to the relative popularity of various modern sports. The English idea in sports that one should be a "good loser" in everything is foreign to the Makassarese. To lose demands a reaction. One does not like to take part in a sport where everyone can directly see by the outcome who has won. In soccer matches standing is already harmed by the first opposing goal. The desire to score with a countering point thereby becomes so excessively great that both individual achievements as well as team play suffer from it. A trailing score is therefore difficult to equalize. Soccer circles in Macassar use this fact to point out that Makassarese have poor morale in competitive situations.

554 558 689 627 In the previous chapter we explained that a woman may not lose any standing. Her position is a fixed point for the men who are constantly outdoing each other. An impairment of her standing immediately calls for the most violent reaction, namely, the death of the challenger. Whoever does not react is "matesiri', " that is to say, "socially dead." This is expressed by saying that such a person is no longer "of use, " or that he is generally despised. Killing is used because what has happened is felt to be so bad that no other reaction is considered possible.

However, there are many reasons why a man in such a case prefers not to kill. Fear of the long prison sentence that awaits him or personal feelings of sympathy for the person who committed the transgression are among them. The tendencies to kill and not to kill are both present. And now their relationship is so much off balance that a man is not expected to go and find the person who made him siri' /213/ with the purpose of killing him, but to make a clearly observable attempt to do so in case of an encounter.

554 /213 cont./ In the Makassarese culture the reaction to an
558 attack upon the woman's standing is linked to a great number
689 of forms, and ways and means are indicated of escaping the duty to kill. The violence of this reaction can possibly best be understood if one realizes that the male striving to rise, in social standing is touched at the core through impairment of a female relative.

Silariang Marriage

558 The reaction to an attack upon the standing of the women, and in particular of the young girl, is institutionalized in the silariang complex. A number of its aspects will now be discussed.

684 Transgression of existing social forms obtaining between the sexes, called the contact situation above, which brings about siri', is always held against both man and woman. Here it does not matter whether one of them, or neither of them, personally desire this transgression. From the moment it is observed, both are fundamentally in the same danger. For a woman the only salvation then is to flee from her house, and the best solution for her is a marriage to the man with whom she committed the transgression. This marriage which [583] therefore comes about after the flight of both is designated in the literature by "siliariang" marriage.

684 Its spectacular consequences, that is to say the forms for
625 contact between this couple and the wife's kinsmen can only
588 be understood on the basis of the notion that a person who caused siri' in this way must be killed, because only in this way can the challenge be answered and the siri' feeling of the challenged person be removed.

Killing or attempted killing of the couple however is not the only way in which the difficulties caused by the challenge can be solved. In practice, a reconciliation comes about between the couple that has fled and the wife's kinsmen after a certain time has elapsed in almost all cases.

684 /224 cont./ here used in the sense of "make little verbal jokes"), but he refused to go with her. At the request of her father she was then returned to her kin group by authority of the judge. "We have enough kinsmen who can marry her," was the explanation for this request, and so it happened. In these two instances, the determined attitude of the man was accepted, while at the same time he was not regarded as tumannjala. The explanation for this may be the character /225/ of the girl, who in both cases was known not to possess the modesty and timidity which girls really should have.

588 626 684 A number of times a woman fled to a stranger in the belief that he made her siri', while in his own mind he had done something quite ordinary. Thus, a Christian Sangirese who was appointed as foreman over a number of Makassarese turned in public to the sister of one of them to ask where her brother was. A few days later she fled to him. After having been instructed by friends, he reacted according to Makassarese expectations. He paid the sunrang and the fine and behaved as beseems a good tumannjala until the reconciliation had taken place according to Makassarese custom. Only the Moslem marriage ceremony did not take place.

689 609 When an Indochinese in such a situation refused to marry, the imam took the girl back to her kin group. The latter regarded neither him nor her as tumannjala. "He does not know our adat," they said, and that was a sufficient explanation for them.

834 684 There are countless reasons which make a woman siri' and lead her to take refuge with a certain man. In each case forbidden contact with this man can be demonstrated. Frequently this contact is accidental. The girl who was addressed by the Sangirese just mentioned was at that moment engaged in drawing water. She did not answer, which was perfectly natural from the Makassarese point of view, but her father had observed the situation and said: "I sent you to the well to

554/241 cont./ to be impaired. Then it is said of him that he
571 feels siri', and he is expected to react by outdoing the successful rival in his turn. A slight victory is avenged moderately, and a severe one is severely avenged.

554 It has been noted that the related group is a vaguely de-
612 limited group and that the standing of relatives among each
684 other is uncertain. No fixed vertical articulation is to be
688 found -- with one single exception: the karaëng and the
[563] people. The only fixed point turned out to be the woman's position, attached to the sunrang. An attack upon a close female relative touches a Makassarese in one of the very few institutions that provide him with a feeling of stability. A
[562] normal response seems impossible in such a case. Suicide does not occur. It is believed that there is no other solution for this conflict than that a man kills the person who attacked him in this, for him, socially important point. In such a case one likewise speaks of adjallo'. This killing is tied further to a multiplicity of forms. There are also many opportunities for avoiding it. The marriage by flight complex is an example of this.

562 Man and woman are regarded as complements of each other with respect to the qualities they are supposed to possess. Only together do they form a whole.

834 It is believed that if an (unmarried) man and woman are together without a third, forbidden contact must exist between them. The evil initiative is thought to emanate from the man, and a woman who has entered into a contact situation is merely reprimanded for not having been careful enough. /242/

156 In reality, however, men as well as women often appear to possess other qualities than those that are ascribed to them on the basis of their sex.

Batak OD5
Celebes OC1
Moluccas OH1
Makassar OG6
Bali OF7

[119 cont.]

Bt 534 Finally, we should include a description of the Batak orchestra to the extent it differs from a Javanese orchestra. We have chosen the Batak orchestra in particular because it is assembled according to fixed rules. A complete orchestra consists of: 1. four gongs, ogung, of various sizes, played by two men; 2. nine gordang, which are beaten with sticks by two men; 3. two odup (tambourines, each played by one person with the hand); 4. the sarune, the flute; and 5. a hawar-hawar, cymbals, played by one person. The whole orchestra consists of eight persons, from which comes its name Si-radja na-uwalu. Such fixed rules are not found among all peoples, however; among most of them, only those instruments that happen to be available are assembled. When there is a bonang, it is the central feature, for example, in northern Celebes and in the Moluccas. One would look in vain for regularity in their music; it is only a boring ting-tang or an ear-deafening drumming.

MO C 534

Song and Dance

Mo MK Bl I 535 Song and dance are linked with music on the Outer Possessions, too. As a rule dancing is not a profession for women, although there are exceptions, such as among the Makassarese and Buginese, in Palembang, and on Bali. In Palembang they are called pelandok = chevrotain, and they wear a [120] peculiar costume, while among the Buginese and Makassarese they are called padjoge. Every native has the right to dance with the padjoge for a payment of 10, 30, or 60 pennies and is then called pangibing. The adat prohibits one from walking amidst such persons when they are dancing. If a native commits such an outrage, the pangibing will stab him with a kris; if a Hollander should do it, then people shrug their shoulders at such ignorance (1).

MK [292]

MK 689 535

2: Wilken--153 E-5 (ca. 1880) 1893 OB1 Indonesia OB1

Malays AN5 MaKassar OG6
Gorontolo OG4 Sumatra OG1
Buru OH8 Moluccas OH1
Lampong-Redjang OD12 Batak OD5

[120 cont.]

MK 689 535

1. Matthes, Bijdrage tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes, p. 127.

I 533 535 Dancing and singing are a part of all festivities and gatherings, but they are done then by the celebrants themselves. Dancing is not always coupled with singing, however, and among the various dances there are the principal kinds: dances with singing, and dances without song. The first is represented S 535 in the so-called mĕnari, which is found primarily on Sumatra. The dancers line up for a kind of row or round dance. The former takes place without singing, the latter with it. The mĕnari corresponds chiefly with the dances of the ronggĕng on Java and therefore consists of artificial contortions and movements of hands, fingers, and hips (2). The women generally remain standing in one place while moving the body imperceptibly up and down. The men bend backward and then forward over the women. The mĕnari is also performed among the Batak and in the Moluccas.

2. Van Hasselt, Midden Sumatra, Volksbeschrijving, p. 120. Engelhard, "Het eiland Saleyer," Bijdr. t. d. T. L. en Vk. v. Ned. Ind., Vol. VIII, pp. 263 ff. The reading of this article is especially recommended on account of the lively style of the author.

Mo Bt 535

Bu G L-R M1 533 538 883 As we have said, there is also the dance without song. At the same time there is the custom of young people of both sexes assembling in the evening in order to address each other in song or to dance. This is the custom, for example, among the Malays, the Lampong, the Redjang, the Alfoer of the Minahasa, the Alfoer of Buru, etc. The little songs that the young people sing to one another on such occasions are called pantun, little verses of four lines of which the first two lines [121] usually have no meaning and only serve to give the terminal rhymes. There are people, however, who assert that

000 Balombaru, September 4, 1949. Fifth day: I got to the kampong a little late, and went through most of the rest of my notes, although I am still not quite finished.

262 273 689 Food and drink: they said that the poor folk might eat much maize at certain times of the year, but that everyone preferred rice all the time. They said they didn't eat horsemeat. Fish is very common, both fresh and dried. Fish, however, is expensive now because rope and cordage for the nets is also expensive. Very few people drink wine, because if they become drunk they are beaten if they use bad language. Thus the very few who like to drink are afraid to do so in the kampong and therefore go to Makassar for such activity.

[276] There is said to be a total lack of opium smokers.

224 411 857 Deer are hunted farther away with lances and ropes (formerly at least). Also, stringed spears were formerly used in war. They had heard about the blow gun but did not know about poison, that is, for the dart tips. This was too long ago. Today they say that the children use a form of blow gun with a cotton wadded dart to kill birds. It is about a meter and a half long. They described devices for scaring birds away from the rice fields. If a ruler is present at a [541] deer hunt, the deer must be killed in front of a grandstand, as in Bontorio.

351 342 764 Fences are built around houses, but the ones I see are mostly flimsy and sparse. As to house construction, I was shown the main post. It was a little to the rear of the other center one. If there is a corpse in the house, it is laid on the side of the house to the rear of the main post (thus in the rear of the house). In regard to the two pavilions said to have been used formerly, one was for the body and the other for guests. They said no more. They knew about the old habit of sticking a spear up through the floor to kill someone and how the folk would sleep on buffalo hides in order to prevent this.

513 682

287 291 411 565 Tapa: they know about bark cloth, and said that in the Japanese time they were forced to make it again: Thus the old art is not dead. They said that formerly, and to some extent at present, women wore pants under the sarong. As for the kris, formerly all men carried one, except slaves.

[301] 304 881 842 574 Women's ears are pierced, and this goes for everyone. However, they did know about the European screw habit, and showed me some earrings which were made for them. Girls' ears are pierced at from three to five years, but they say there is no attendant feast. They agreed that girls are cut at from four to eight or more years of age, and this is accompanied by a feast.

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OB1 Indonesia OB1
Minangkabau OD10 Toradja 0611
Bali OF7 Makassar 066
Borneo OC1

the individual body, health and the rules of magic in life, the possession of goods, the relationship to offspring and to married couples, belong practically everywhere to the life-circle of persons, which is protected against encroachment.

B. INDONESIAN TERMINOLOGIES

The various injuries have their own names—sometimes original names, in the case of a closely related group of actions, such as all sorts of theft, although the native names for delicts are very elastic in their meanings, such as "dago dagi" (Minangkabau), meaning disobedience toward those in adat authority, and "kagau gau" (Buginese), meaning to do something bad.

The fines for delicts are established in a specific relation to the offense, which cannot be further explained; for example, three plates for an ordinary insult, three plates and a pig for a serious insult, ten plates for insulting a chief (among the Lawangan Dyaks). This is one sample of the relation between the delict and fine taken at random from thousands of others, all as inexplicable as this.

The fines for delicts frequently show their magic character in their insistence in naming the goods which are owed by the delinquent (so many buffaloes, so many slaves, for instance) and then, without objection, allowing these goods actually to be replaced by objects of small monetary value or by a sum of money.

The fines for delicts have their specific designation in various law-areas, for example: "bosi sebelas kepala tajau" (West Borneo), a pot of the value of ten heads (kepala—head, in Malay) and twelve detached heads, which is the fine not for one sort of delict but for a group of various delicts (probably equal in degree). The Toraja distinguish between offenses committed with the mouth, for which the fine is based on payment in chickens; offenses committed with the hand, for which the fine is based on the value of goats; offenses committed with the whole body, where the fine is based on payment of buffaloes. According to the seriousness of the offense, the actual fine for delict consists, for instance, of a chicken with three things in addition, or of a buffalo with five things added to it, etc. In the Balinese desa, many offenses are punished by a money fine. Thus each law-area has its specific delict and reaction pattern. It seems to be a general characteristic that in cases of theft (and other offenses against property) the fine consists of a payment of twice or several times the value of the stolen property.